THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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A BIG STEP FORWARD

The International Conference of the Left Opposition

On April 6, a step of the greatest consequence for the world Communist movement was taken in Paris. In response to a call signed by the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition), the Communist League of France (La Verite), and the Communist League of America, delegates from practically all the important groups of the Left Opposition in the Communist movement gathered for their first representative internaticnal conference. They decided to issue an international bulletin, and formed a secretariat to direct the work of our fraction and the discussion of those questions which still require clarification.

The Conference Representation

Representing the French group, were comrades Rosmer and Naville; for the United Left Opposition in Germany, comrade Oskar Seipold, Communist member of the Prussian Landtag; for the Belgian Opposition, comrade Hennaut, with comrade Lesoil from the Charleroi federation; comrade Gorkin for the Spanish Opposition; Fraenkel for the Czecho-Slovakian Opposition (Leonorovics group); Peri for the Italian Left (Bordiga group); Szilvassy for the Hungarian group; Obin for the Jewish Opposition group in France; and Shachtman from the Communist League of America. Endorsements of the conference were received from the Russian comrades, from the group in Greece, and a second Czech Opposition group, composed of students, in Prague. Financial and other pressing difficulties prevented these latter from sending delegates, as was also the case with the Chinese, Austrian, Mexican and Argentine groups. Subsequent correspondence has already shown that virtually all these groups will collaborate in the work of the International Secretariat and the Bulletin.

The same spirit that actuated the militant groups of revolutionists that gathered at Zimmerwald and Kienthal to salvage the movement from the ruins of socialist betrayal in 1914, pervaded the Paris conference. All the comrades were motivated by the ever more urgent need of firmly uniting on a word scale the Marxist core of th Communist International. The conflict between the formation of groups in every important country on the basis of the struggle for internationalism, and the lack of organized international coordination was, to a great extent, brought to an end by the conference. The first step was taken—a big step made imperative not only by the situation in the official movement which requires our united intervention, but also by the conditions prevailing in the Left Opposition itself.

The Communist Opposition is a product of the development of the Comintern, with which it is indissolubly bound up by its whole past. The weakening of the International, therefore, could not fail to involve the Opposition, at least in the first stage. Even more: insofar as the weakening of the International was caused by a series of defeats of the revolution and a strengthening of the social democracy, that process had to effect most heavily the Left ving of Communism. The moods of disillusionment and decline was directed primarily against the revolutionary tendency.

The Centrist apparatus, which became stronger with the weakening of the revolutionary movement, utilized all the advan-

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CONFLICT SHARP IN INDIA

The Popular Militant Spirit

So serious has the situation become in India, that the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, has found it necessary to proclaim a new ordinance to censor the press which goes further than the notorious press act of 1910. Despite the rigid censorship, sufficient news has managed to leak out to indicate that there is a genuinely revolutionary temper pervading the masses of the miserably exploited Indian masses.

Conflicts Increase

Conflicts between Indians and government forces have become a daily occurrence. Scores upon scores have already been arrested, 26 in Calcutta alone in one day, after the shooting of a British soldier. The native regiments are not being counted ed upon by the British imperialists as they had hoped. During the Peshawar riots last week, it was later disclosed, at least two platoons—that much is officially admitted —"were found to be unsatisfactory", that is, to do murder work for Britain's financ al lords.

So serious has the feeling of the masses become that the socalled Nationalist leaders, from Gandhi down, have felt compelled to "do something agin' th government" in order to retain their hold upon the millions. Gandhi, under the guise of an opposition to British rule which he will give up (as he has done in the past) at the first sign of a genuinely revolutionary force appearing on the scene, is actually conducting a reactionary campaign. He is spreading the thoroughly reactionary idea that the primitive fabrication of native cloth is not only superior to the advanced manufacture of machine cloth, but is one of the ways of unloading the burden of British rule!

The great difficulty for the Indian liberation movement is that it is still dominated by such people as Gandhi, who can lead it only into a swamp of betrayal. A substantial revolution ry movement, a Communist Party ,does not, or as much as does not exist and the mis-leadership of Gandhi is not yet challenged. The Indian masses are showing their militant spirit, however, and Gandhi will not be forever able to direct it into theatrical, mystic, and—to Britain—harmless channels.

The Left Wing and the Amalgamated Convention

The national convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is scheduled to open in Toronto on May 12. Outside of one or two sympathizers with the Left wing movement there will be no Left wing group among the delegates. The Party policy in this union has revealed its own bankruptcy by the virtual elimination of the Left wing from any influence. The only semblance of a fight at the convention may be an open struggles between the Hillman and Beckerman cliques, i. e., half a dozen of one or six of the other. With all the talk of the "third period", of very, very revolutionary action of winning the masses over night and the rest of the empty phraseology of the "new line",the Party, and the official Left wing it controls, have done nothng—absolutely nothing—to prepare for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America convention! Only at the last minute, two brief weeks before the convention, the General Executive Board of the Left wing needle trades union has appointed a sub-committee to meet with a committee of the T. U. U. L. and then bring in recommendations for a policy! With the excellent situation for the Left wing created in the A. C. W. A. by the corruption prevalent and the crude class collaboration policy of the bureaucracy—coupled with genuine dissatisfaction in the ranks—the Party controlled Left wing has neither program, nor policy, nor has it made any efforts to organize a fight.

The criminal neglect of this situation—not only of the convention, but of the union as a whole which is the only organized expression of the men tailors—stamps the Party leaders properly: Phrasemonegers. Their "mass work", their "winning the masses for the new line", and all the rest of their bluff, begins and ends with manifestos and proclamations in the Party press. With or without them, or in spite of them, the Left wing must take form again in the A. C. W. A. It is up to the rank and file to speak and act. The columns of the Militant are open to them. Readers will find the first of a series of articles on the situation in the A. C.W. A. on page 6 of this issue.

The Marine Workers Convention

By S. M. Rose

The seamen's convention held in New York from April 26 to the 27, unquestionably represented a number of highlights in the history of the movement. The first and most significant one was that for the first time in years a real, representative convention, in the sense that genuine seamen and dock workers from all the leading ports of the country, came together to organize a real union. The first day of the convention was shot through with an evident feeling and desire really to launch a marine workers' industrial union, and all the "third period" preparations seemed to have no effect. By the end of the second day it was quite evid nt to any understanding observor that most of the men in the convention were satisfied that a union had not been properly organized, at least beyond the formal act of naming the result a "union".

The convention was opened with the customary blessings of the Mink, Johnstone (representing the (T.U.U.L.) reading a letter of political direction penned by Foster in the Tombs, and from that point the seamen started making motions as if they seriously meant to get down to business. Suggestions were made from the floor for the organization of the usual committees to facilitate the work, only to be silenced by a "broad" proposal made by the chairman, Harvey, that the national committee of th T. U. U. L. had certain definite recommendations about a general committee which was to perform all these functions. This took most of the men unawares, and without much discussion, the committee was accepted. It consisted of hand-picked, "reliable" Party members. Not a single "outsider was on it.

The Mink Explodes

The first stir of any opposition in the convestion emanated from a ship's delegate, Bill Drennan, a member of the M. T. W. (I. W. W.) who raised the question of seriatim adoption of the constitution. This gave the great Mink an opportunity to vent all his ignorant bile against the I. W. W., Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, and all those not baptized by the proper holy water. In ignorance and villification, there has rarely been anything like it. After the Mink got through with his illiterate explosion Jack Johnstone with a beningn smile, got up and "explained" that things were not quite so bad as the Mink would have us believe; that the I.W.W., of which about half the men present had been members at one tim or another, did make militant history on the waterfront. With this bit of blarney, he proceeded to exhort them to use this background as a basis for building the new union. Good; only he neglected to explain in addition why so many Wobblies or ex-Wobs who had been associated with the Marine Workers League, and dared entertain ideas or thing for himself, had been chiselled out of the organation by mechanical manipulation of Messrs. Mink, Sparks and Co.

Here it might be in place to note that one of th paradoxical occurences was the fact that in the back of the hall sat about 15 or 20 men who, within the last ten years or so, had at one period or another played a leading role in the industry. At one time or another within the last two years, most of them had either been part of the League or very close to it. And here they sat in the back of the hall, apparently having no no formal influence upon the proceedings, yet constantly being turnd to by those on the floor. These men could find no place in the "third period" scheme of organization-

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ATTENTION!

Just as we go to press, the committee in charge informs us that the Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue, has been obtained for a mass meeting on Thursday, May 15th, to hear Max Shachtmen, editor of the Militant, who has just returned from Europe. Comrade Shachtman spent a number of weeks in Paris, where he attended the International Conference of the Left Opposition as delegate from the United States, and in Berlin, at the unity conference of the German Communist Opposition. In addition, he paid a lengthy visit to comrade Leon Trotsky in Turkey, and at the meeting he will bring the American militants a greeting from the great Bolshevik leader. Shachtman will speak on the situation in Russia and the prospects of the revolutionary movement in Europe and the United States, reporting also the viewpoint of the Left Opposition in general, and especially of comrade Trotsky. All workers are invited to attend this important lecture. Questions will be asked at the end. Admission will be 25 cents.

Printers' Privileged Position Doomed

Revolutionary developments in the printing of your newspaper may within the next decade swallow up the jobs of thousands of union printers, and within a quarter century relegate a craft dating from Gutenberg's days to the pages of history books.

Two Threats to "Labor Skill"

From two sides come mechanical threats to the army of printers who operate typesetting machines. One is the teletypesetter which substitutes John Robot for the man at the linotype. Another is the photo composing machine whch entirely scraps both typesetter and typesetting machine. Both processes were reviewed before the recent publishers convention in New York by Frank E. Gannett, owner of a chain of dailies and owner of the teletypesetter process.

Gannett now boasts that his robot typesetter has been at work in a small Illinois daily newspaper for six months. "At last," he said, "it is now ready for the market. A large number of machines are now going through the factory and the complete outfit will soon be available to publishers."

The machine is operated by a perforated tape produced by a machine printer for receiving telegraphed news. The machine printer itself displaced the Morse code telegraph operator. To begin with the teletypsetter will handle stock quotations and sports bulletins, but Gannett forsees the day when the complete newspaper, including wire and local news, will be teletypeset. "The teletypesetter tape," he said, "can be transmitted with greater rapidity and the composing machine acts with greater accuracy than a hand operated machine."

The only worker left when teletypesetter gets going will be the linotype machinist. But even he will lose his job if Gannett is correct in saying that " I feel confident that some day photocomposing will displace metal casting machines." This device will photograph columns of type as they are set on a machine similar to a typewriter ,backed by camera apparatus. The plate will then be engraved and given to the pressmen.

May Scrap Pressmen, Too

Revolutionary departures that will scrap press room workers are also foreshadowed in the prediction of Owen D. Young of Genral Electric that you will read your morning or evening paper through a device in the living room, operated by wireless mechanism.

The International Typographical Union facing in the 5-day week dmand its stiffest battle since 1922 when it fought out the issue of the 44-hour week in job plants, must reckon on a new type of strike-breaker in the robot designed by Gannett and now in actual operation. If the pressmen and other printing trades unions will follow the union policy of working while the printers are on strike, publishers will be able to make shift temporarily while assembling scab crews.

Meanwhile the scab recruiting goes on apace, according to reports by Chairman H. W. Flagg of the "open shop" division of the Amrican Newspaper Publishers Assn. and Chairman Harvey J. Kelly of the special standing committee. Kelly speaks of "special defense preparations" undertaken by the committee, which are said to have caused many printers unions to relinquish 5-day week and other demands. In both Lawrence Mass. and Hamilton, Ont., these "defense preparations" were undertaken.

Discussing the 5-day week, Flagg says: "In all cases involved where the newpaper has prepared in advance to take care of its publication in any case, a new agreement has been reached with demand for the 5-day week eliminated."

STREET CAR MEN DEMAND 6-DAY WEEK

PITTSBURGH—This city is wondering whether it will walk or ride after May 1. 2,800 car men turned down a proposal of the Pittsburgh Railways Co. to rplace the expiring wage agreement.

THE SEAMEN'S CONVENTION

Bureaucracy Perfected!

About 118 seamen and longshoremen, the unest representative body of workers that have ever come together on South Street wound up the marine workers' convention last week after a two days' sitting.

There was no lack of enthusiasm. In fact this very enthusiasm prevented the seamen and longshoremen from taking the problem of building their industrial union into their own hands, a task which they proved, throughout the sessions, to be more than capable of handling.

Johntone's Manipulations

But in the noise of their enthusiasm they failed to consider the manipulations of the T. U. U. L. leaders as represented mainly by Johnstone who was bent with all his "eloquence" upon preventing the seamen from taking control of the convention. This was clearly shown, for example, when a motion came from the floor in accord with procedure, for the election of a national secretary ,the opposition to Mink being unanimous. A "well-trained" Party member, whom the writer knows to be in ardent opposition to Mink, took the floor and amended that this task be left to the incoming national committee . Opposition to this insincere amendment was demonstrated in the heated discussion that followed when it appared that it was getting out of control and a few Party members made only half-hearted stands for the motion, the big gun of the convention, Johnstone, rose to explain to the delegates the meaning of "centralized democracy", a phrase with which many miners, textile workers and needle trades workers have become very well acquainted in the last few years of Party mechanical control.

The writer was very much impressed on meeting one of the Party members after the convention who, in an apologetic tone, said: "Well, we had to do it (that is, support Mink) or it would have gotten out of the hands of the Party"!

Johnstone, in poisting out why no officials should be elected from the floor, stated that it was so easy for some one to get into a position of power that he could in the course of time, with the greatest ease, divert the organization into reactionary channels. The test of this shameful proclamation of the legalized bureaucracy can be seen in what the associated Johnstones have made out of the Left wisg miners, textile and needle trades unions—shadows and wrecks.

It further shows the great fear the Party leaders have of the workers, contrary to the radicalization characteristics of the period which they claim to have analyzed so thoroughly, and which says correctly enough that we are in a period of sharpening class struggle when the militant elements of the working class come to the fore. What Johnstone fears is precisely these elements. Isn't the program and constitution of the T. U. U. L. leadership strong enough and clearly applicable to the period? Isn't the functioning of Communists in the union and its leadership, organized in fractions, good enough guarantees for Johnstone? No, he has to have one million person, brass-bound, choking control. The Party, after four years, was afraid to trust leaders from the delegations like McGrath, Harvey, Morgan and Hegeny, who were popular at the convention, and had proved by their activity in the ports that they are able to work without Johnstonian wet-nursing.

Organization a la Mode

Another outstanding feature of the convention was the obvious ignorance of the industry shown by Johnstone. Instead of simplifying the enormous task with which the convention was confronted, he proceeded to complicate matters so that no delegate could conceive just how they were to set about building the new union.

He proposed as one of their main tasks to organize a Negro section, a women's section, a youth section, and repeatedly stressed their importance. This will appear good in the Daily Worker, splendid in the T. U. U. L. and Party minutes, magnificent in the Executive Committee of the C. I. and the R. I. L. U., but ridiculous on the water front. But Johnstone is superior to such little matters as the waterfront, or else he would have known much better.

The Party fraction did not do itself proud at all. Most of the comrades are inexperienced, since the older ones have been driven out or become disgusted. No attempts have been made at training or educating the comrades; none is needed, most likely in the Third Period. It was comical, if it were not so tragic, when it came to the election of delegates to the R. I. L. U. Congress. The ones in greatest opposition to Mink approved of the slate previously drawn up. Can Mink contribute anything at the Congress? It is doubtful if even Mink believes that. But the faithful must be rewarded. Nobody must be allowed to think or act independently of the Party lash, for they might begin to think of how thy are being used as chess men by the Party bureaucrats, instead of the Party working in fraternal harmony with the union.

The seamen and marine workers have had an "educational" meeting, but not a convention. They could learn from the sessions that so long as the T. U. U. L. leadership overteps the boundaries of legitimate relationships to the unions affiliated to it, by not allowing it the necessary possibilities to develop initiative and elbow room to function as a real union of workers in the industry, instead of an advertisement for the latest Party line, there will be a cancer eating away at the organization from the beginning. The further realization of its aims, the organizing of the marine workers for a fight against the ship-owners, will be seriously hindered without the establishment of these proper relations between leaders and ranks, union and Party.

—JOHN HORN

SINCE LENIN DIED

By Max Eastman

The book that first told the inside story of the struggle between the Opposition and the bureaucracy inthe Communist Party in Russia. The details of how the conspiracy was hatched against Leon Trotsky by Stalin, Zinoviev, Bucharin and others, was recounted originally in this excelint volume. It is invaluable for an understanding of present day events in Russian and the world Communist movement.

158 pages

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200 Men Control U. S. Industry

Concentration of power over the living conditions of 120 millions of people in the hands of less than 200 men was revealed by Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat, in a speech before the National Democratic club. Wheeler quoted a banker as saying:

"In my estimation about 50 or 60 large companies in this country, each controlled by two or three men, do about 80%, through their various subsidaries ,of the industrial business of this country. There are hundred of thousands of small corporations and individual business men in this country, but taken together they do only about 20% of the country's industrial business."

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ILLINOIS JOBS MUCH SCARCER THAN A YEAR AGO

CHICAGO—For every available hundred jobs in Illinois in February there were 245.6 persons ready to take them, according to the state employment office. This was a slight improvement over January when 257.2 persons wanted every available hundred jobs but it was very much worse than February 1928. At that time the ration was 169.4 applicants for evry hundred jobs.

The office makes the situation look blacker by reporting that the little improvement noted since January was not due to more jobs being open but to fewer applicants, indicating that people got tired of looking in vain for a job or perhaps moved to other states in search of one. Fewer boys were looking for jobs in February than in January.

That bosses seem to have been cutting wages appears from the detailed report for Chicago where employment in factories increased 1% but payroll totals increased only a tenth as much. More than three times as many workers applied for jobs in Chicago in Febraury than could be placed.

Φ

ON SEATTLE: A CORRECTION

A comrade writes us from Seattle, correcting an error in No. 12 of the **Militant.**

"We have 17 cases. Two comrades got 60 days: $50.00 fine, one got 30 days: $50.00 and all others were fined $25.00. All are out on appeal bond, their cases coming up next month. The 32 cases are the old ones from Armstice Day and are out on bonds. Now we have more cases, since they just pick up the boys for having a drink on 12th and Jackson Streets and for not working. I wonder why the Opposition is not taking a more active part in the I. L. D. We surely need them."—E.

Φ

IN OUR NEXT NUMBER

Pressure of space compelled us to omit from this issue a number of very important articles. Our promised article on the developments within the British Labor Party will surely appear in the next issue. We will also have an analysis of the new group that has been formed in the Socialist Party in New York, the "younger" elements who obtained almost half the votes at the S. P. city convention. Then there is the introduction by comrade Trotsky to the American edition of his book "The Permanent Revolution",, which will appear. Further, a reply to the Chinese "specialist" who hides behind the name R. Doonping, and who has written a particularly stupid article in the Communist "The Rising Revolutionary Wave and Trotsky Liquidation in China". Also an article by Max Shachtman on his rceent visit to comrade Trotsky.

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Throughout the World of Labor

EXIT MONDE! EXIT HENRI BARBUSSE!

We have not hurried to give our opinion on the journal of Henri Barbusse, **Monde**, the darling of **l'Humanite** in France as well as the **Daily Worker** and **New Masses** in the United States. We wanted to wait serenely to see this journal adopt a fairly clear line of conduct Now it seems that we have waited in vain, and that **Monde** continues to be what it always was, that is, a literary publication of the democratic, whining phrase-mongering petty bourgeoisie who are so well personified by Barbusse. There is no doubt that **Monde** is not a journal of the Communist Party, neither is it a social democratic publication; it ' something worse and more inoffensive at the same time, that is, a miscellany of the swampiest, the most confused, in short, the most anti-proletarian slops produced by the politico-literary circles of the petty bourgeoisie.

The quality of the principal editors already tells a good deal. Of course, the Directing Committee which appears under the head is only a pure front. The director, Barbusse, is already known as a notorious anti-Marxist. For some time his lucrative literary activity has been divided between works of a Christian mysticism (novels, critcisms, plays on Jesus) and crude plagiarisms from the official Soviet economic press in praise of Stalin. The politics of the journal are directed by Paul Louis a veritable living statue to the glory of "democracy", a scribbler at the service of every political sheet which offers a trough, be they republican, radical, socialist or Communist, from **Soir** to **Monde**, traversing a multitude of sheets of every species. This venerable leader of the Socialist-Communist Party spins out a vaguely radicalizing and pacifist prose every week in **Monde** on international politics.

The economic questions are dealt with in the pedantic manner by Delaisi and Laurat. The first of these two authors is notoriously ignorant of the A B C of Marxist economic science. In his recent works, like "The Two Europes", amiably commented upon by **Monde**, he shows himself a complacent critic of some "imperfections" of imperialism, which according to him, the trusts and alliances between the capitalists can remedy. **Monde** publishes from time to time comic, economic controversies between Delaisi and Laurat, the one explaining himself in the liberal and free-trader's tone, and the other replying with extracts from "Das Kapital" purged of any catastrophic consequences. If we add that the other collaborators are people like Habarau, Berl, Alrald Bernard, etc., etc... the question arises as to how how, why, in what respect and in what manner **Monde** can really be a journal which speaks, if not to the revolutionary proletariat, at least simply to the proletariat.

The real face of **Monde**, its pseudo-theoretical countenance, appeared at the time it undertook a socalled inquiry "On the Doctrinal Crisis of Socialism". The manner in which this inquiry was presented and the replies that were made to it, put **Monde** in its precise place. In the introduction, one could read: "In speaking of the doctrinal crisis of socialism, we understand the term in its vastest conception, detaching it from the daily struggles to which the various proletarian organizations devote themselves in the name of their respective doctrine". This phrase has only one meaning: The doctrinal crisis of socialism is above the class struggle. We are therefore not wrong in saying that **Monde** placed itself outside of revolutionary Marxism, outside of the proletarian struggle, in order to take refuge in the nebuleus world of literary discussions. This does not prevent the editor of the introduction to the inquiry, who is no longer a Marxist—if he ever was one—from writing: "The doctrine (socialist) is passing through a crisis because it is in fact or in appearance—our inquiry will enable us to judge—in conflict with reality on a goodly number of points." What reality? We ask because it is not a question of the reality of political parties, nor consequently of classes, nor, finally, of the principal elements of capitalist society in which we are now living. That is to say that we, he Marxists and Communists, who ask it, for evidently the editor of **Monde**, lost in his abstractions, does not. Doesn't he write further that he intended to submit to his readers "the opinions of the most qualified representatives of the tendncies confronting each other in contemporaneous socialism, right as well as left, in the seond and third international"?

For **Monde**, then, the only difference between social democracy and Communism is that of being the right and left wings of "socialism". This statement would be quite in place from the pen of an editor of **Temps**. But one wonders what it is doing in the pages of a journal which speaks in the name of Communism and the teachings of the Russian revolution. Moreover **Monde** has not been able up to now to publish anything but propaganda texts from Vanderveide, De Man, Renner, Deat and a few others, that is, of the theoretical screens for the bankruptcy of the second international and its irrevocable passage to the side of the democratic bourgeoisie. The opinions of the theoreticians of the Communist movement are still forthcoming ing. This could only be the consequence of the fact that the best leaders and theoreticians of the Communist movement are today expelled from the International by the Stalinist apparatus, in which M. Barbusse participates directly, while only the perverters of Marxist thought have the right to speak there today. But such is not the case, for no Communist belonging to the Left Opposition movement would want to soil himself in the Barbussian pot.

It is in reality the result of another fact whose developments we shall soon see: it is that the bureaucracy of the International is beginning to tire of the lucubrations of M. Barbusse, of the hotch-potch of slops of the revolutionary movement which he has made of **Monde**, and that it has begun the rupture with this journal. We are not afraid of any denial. The Soviet bureaucracy of the C. I. has despised Barbusse for a long time. This contempt rearose at the time when Lenin was astounded because the French Communist Party distributed so idiotic a pamphlet as "The Knife between the Teeth". But now this contempt for the man it utilized has taken on a new form.

In the **Vlestnik Inostranoy Literaturi** (No. 5, December, 1929), Bruno Jazhinsky administers a superb bureaucratic reproof to the director of **Monde**. This reproof is naturally accompanied by organizational measures: The sale of **Monde** is prohibited on the news-stands and the book-stores in **Russia and the journal no longer comes to the subscribers in the U. S. S. R. Mezhrapom has even offered to reimburse the subscribers for their money. This time it is clear: Molotov has had enough of the journal of Paul Locis and Delaisi. With the same gracefulness he excersized in supporting Monde when it was first established he is preparing today to issue a bull against it.**

It is likely that our new Christ Barbusse will suddenly cry out at *dictatorship*, bureaucracy, dogmatism. After having held his tongue till 1930, he will denounce the sectarian spirit of the leaders of the Communist Party, etc. Under such conditions, it is also likely that Monatte will be astounded that we are repulsing an eventual ally, an "Opposition to the Party". But for us the matter stands differently. We are not with everyone who is against the Party or against the International and the Soviet Union. We are not with those who desert the sinking ship, with those who abandon a freely embraced cause when it no longer profits them. We repulse and fight against those who, after having wholly appproved up till now the methods and the action of the C. I., turn sharply upon it without seriously founded political reason. For we know that this type of capers always conceals a retreat fixed long ago, and a more or less bashful return into the petty bourgeois democratic ring. We know that the whole evolution in this sense of Barbusse and his journal will not signify an evolution beyond the domain of the C. I. apparatus towards a more consistent revolutionary activity, but quite simply the removal of a veil which concealed from the eyes of a pretty numerous public the essentially retrogressive, petty bourgeois and confusionist nature of Barbusse and his enterprises. Today only one mask gives them a proletarian revolutionary aspect and that is the Stalinist bureaucracy which itself is about to undertake the unmasking.

Unfortunately, a certain working class public lets itself be taken in by the phrases and the literary jargon of **Monde**. Doubtlessly ,this corresponds to their very comprehensible need to read something besides their ordinary political press, to educate themselves while being amused. A journal with such a goal cannot be a bad thing. But it must be realized seriously and with sincerity. It is these two qualities that are lacking in **Monde**. At present it is necesary that the revolutionary workers know that **Monde** is an organ of petty bourgeois literature and education and that, if it can sometimes divert them ,it can aid and support them in no wise in their struggle. The bureaucrats of the Party who supported and encouragd **Monde** know this as well as we. And perhaps they are now preparing to say so. For they must certainly answer this question: Why is **Monde**, prohibited in the U. S. S. R. and therefore poor reading for the Soviet citizenry, recommended in France by the same bureaucracy which leads the Russian and French Communist Parties? —PIERRE F. NAVILLE

Paris, April 10, 1930.

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The «Red Peasants» Meet

The Peasant Congress would have passed unnoticed if the Berlin police had not interfered on the last day, so as to give it some notice. Incapable of creating a genuine mass movement, the bureaucracy which is installed in all the leading international bodies (I.R.A., W,I.R., Profintern, Krestintern, etc.) has specialized in calling Congresses to create the illusion of capturing the working masses and their allies. Not long ago, a very costly Congress was held in Berlin, the juridicial congress, at which no one spoke, and whose chief accomplishment—aside from the squandering of a great deal of money—was to enable those belonging to the International League for the Rights of Men to protest against the application of the dah penaly in he U.S.S.R. The bankrupcy of this juridical congress in no way hindered the calling of an international Peasants Congress in Berlin at the end of March. A hundred delegates participated. Old man Martel represented France (a new crisis has broken out between the Peasants confederation and the Party). The delegates from the other countries were in a class with Martell. In concluding the work, the creation of an International Peasants Committee was decided upon.

For what purpose? To maintain an office. That's all. Another problem immediately arose: did the creation of an International Peasants Committee mean in substance the liquidation of the Krestintern? Or would this Peasants Committee be a substitute for the Kretintern, or would it come out against it ,or would it relegate itself to inactivity?

In this respect also, an alarm must be sounded. The country, the peasants are separated from the workers; in the country it is the forces of reaction that speak to the peasants. It is an immdiate and urgent duty of the Communist Parties to penetrate into the country; this is the sole guarantee of success in all the revolutionary struggles of the working class. The bloc of the workers and peasants must not be empty talk. If the peasants are not united with th working class, the latter will find them in the enemies lines, enrolled in the forces of reaction.

Berlin, April 19, 1930 A.B.

Reactionary Maneuvers in Spain

A rumor has been recently current that a crisis within the Berenguer government was provoked by the resignation of three of his ministers. The head gneral of Catolonia, general Barrera, made a trip to Madrid where he conferred with several important personages and tnen returned to Barcelona. They discussed against Berenguer, led by Barrera and Martinez Andio. Berenguer issued a denial but the conspiracy was nevertheless an actuality.

General Barrera filled the post of head generalship of the formemost military region of Spain (Catalonia), during the entire dictatorship. He was one of the principal supporters of the policy of Primo-Anido. After the fall of the dictatorship he did not for a moment, together with Anido, cease maneuvring among the former ministers of the dictatorship and the leading elements of the Patriotic Union; but their maneuvres came to naught because of the unpopularity of all remnants of the dictatorship.

Berenguer was frightened for a moment fearing that the garrison of Catlalonia might solidarize with Barrera. The latter was forced to present his resignation in order to take over other duties.

His post was taken over by the Prince Don Carlos of Bourbon. This appointment was well received by the Catalonian plutocracy and by all the monarchist elements. The new head captain of Catalonia will attempt to save the monarchy of his cousin, Alfonse XIII. Berenguer was wise enough to win over the good will of Cambo and the Catalonian plotocracy.

Barrera attempted to organize several demonstrations: the Berenguer government forbade them. Despite that he issued two appeals to the garrison of Catalonia and to the Province defense corps, which showed his narrow ties with the former dictatorship and his desire, together with Martinez Anido and Sanjurjo, of reinstituting the dictatorial regime, even more brutal and violent than that under Primo de Rivera.

It is quite evident that the initial Republican enthusiasm has greatly diminished. This movement deceived many. Two months slipped away in complete confusion and disorganization, no one being able to lead this movement towards realization. Many naively believe today that the Republic will be peacefully achieved through elections. The Berenguer government sustains this illusion. In opposing the dictatorial maneuvers of Barrera and Martinez Andio, he wished to attempt the recapture in part of the confidence of the people which he had lost completely.

We have never had any great illusions concerning the Republican movements which followed the fall of Primo de Rivera. The petty bourgeois republicans are not and cannot be genuine revolutionists. They are afraid of the Revolution and of the proletariat and hope that the Republic will fall from the sky. That is why from the first moment we have set ourselves the task of fighting against the monarchy and at the same time unmasking the false republicans.

We have confidence only—is it necessary to mention this?—in the exploited worker and peasant classes. We must be at their sides in order to enlighten and direct them. The Communist Party must above all fix upon its proper characteristics, its slogan of the proletarian vanguard, and must energetically fight in the defense of the interests of the working class and for a Spanish Workers and Peasants Republic. —HENRI LACROIX

THE MAY DAY MEETINGS

The Militant goes to press just before the May Day demonstrations are being held, and can therefore publish no details in this issue. The next issue will print adequate reports of the meetings and an analysis of the results.

The International Opposition Conference

(Continued from page 1)

tages of its position. By its possession of a powerful press, telegraph, radio, and the like, it systematically falsified for years the Oppositionist's point of view, making it reponsible at every turn for Centrism's own yesterdays. By injecting an unprecedented confusion in the ranks of Communism, it attained its immediate aim—but at the enormous cost of weakening the Marxist wing in the International.

The Origin of the Opposition

In examining its present condition, the Opposition could not forget its own origin. It arose in the Soviet Union. From the beginning, all its acts and words were limited by the exceptional conditions of the proletarian dictatorship and subsequently by the regime of bureaucratic strangulation of the Party. The views of the Russian Opposition penetrated abroad only episodically, a fact which alone made difficult the creation of a common ideological foundation. Furthermore, since the Russian Opposition directed its course of redressment of the Party line without splits or convulsions dangerous for the dictatorship, the Communist Left in the capitalist countries was necessarily obliged to an extreme restraint. But the Centrist bureaucracy chose the path of smashing the Opposition organizationally, always at the price of strangling the Party.

The crushing of Party democracy in the C. P. S. U., as well as throughout the Comintern, violently retarded the development and education of the cadres of the Opposition. The theoretical work of the Opposition, its analyses, its valuation of conditions, it predictions and its slogans thus remained the property of comparatively small circles. To this day, the official Party and the Right wing press can ascribe the most outrageous ideas to the Opposition simply because our real point of view has been so ruthlessly suppressed. The absence of numerous cadres capable of actively advocating our ideas in all branches of the labor movement, greatly facilitated in its turn, the hunting down of the Opposition by the apparatus.

Without these broad cadres and close international connections, the Opposition dispersed national groups of a propagandist nature. Every one was condemned to seek its own way by its own isolated means. In that already lay the danger of discord, of vacillation, of false ideas, and national limitedness.

To this must be added another fact. At each of its turns, Centrism drove out of the Comintern elements of a very diverse, and frequently, opposed character. They usually counted themselves or were counted among the Opposition. A number of them systematically compromised the banner of the Opposition through manifestations of opportunism, anarcho-syndicalism and petty bourgeois dilletantism. It is enough to name the Urbahns group which brought us the greatest damage by declaring its own all the caricatured ideas which Stalin maliciously attributed to the Left Opposition. In France there were a number of such groups deforming the views of the Opposition. In many countries, the course of the struggle showed that it was not so difficult to proclaim oneself for a revolutionary course in China, or in Russia, or in some other distant land, and pursue, under such a cover, a more or less opportunist course at home. Such a danger still exists and can be observed in one manner or another in most countries.

The same conditions, therefore, which determined the appearance of the Opposition as a political factor, also made for its weakening in the first years. There is no need to conceal this fact, for the camouflage policy of imitating the possession of power instead of reallly fighting for it is a contemptible one: we do not call ourselves the "majority group of the Communist Party" when we are but a small faction in it.

Our Recent Successes

Nevrtheless, there is very reason to register very subtantial uccessesses in the recent period. These were brought out in the reports made by the delegates from every country represented at the conference. The period was largely devoted to a necessary ideological delimitation, to the purification of our ranks and our minds—generally necessary in a proletarian party and a dozen times more imperative in a faction of a party. In some cases this work led to splits and seemingly to our weakening. But in reality, aiming at **quality**, this work prepared for us the possibilities of gaining **quantative** successesses in the immediate future.

In France, the appearance of La Verite and the transformation of La Lutte de Classes into a theoretical monthly, marked a milestone in the development of the French Opposition. While the writer was in France, the loosely-organized movement was coordinated and the Communist League of France (Opposition) constituted. There our influence is steadily mounting, under the direction of an excellent group of militants whose influence in the Party and the trade unions is palpably increasing. Guided by our comrades, there is being formed a substantial fraction in the Red trade union center (C. G. T. U.) which fights the stupid policies of the Party leadership as vigorously as it combats the liquidationist tendencies represented by the Right wing-"pure" syndicalist minority in the unions. Such a trade union group is a pressing need in the United States too.

In Germany, the last year was one of deep internal struggle which ended with the inevitable split of the Leninbund. This prepared the fusion of the Marxist section of the Leninbund with the Wedding and Palatine Opposition, and the creation of an organ which will represent the genuine opinions of the Communist Left. Relieved now of the confusionism of Urbahns, the German Left has every opportunity for rapid growth. Its unity conference on March 30 was already a demonstration of this fact. Despite the difficulties unavoidably present in combining two groups with diverse lines of past development, one could see the rise of a movement that will swiftly encompass the genuine Marxist elements within and without the official Party.

Our most sensational success has been in Spain. The Spanish Opposition has been transformed from a number of isolated groups living in enforced exile in France, Belgium and Luxemburg, into a powerful factor in the Spanish movement. Following the fall of Primo de Rivera, it was able to win over—in an amazingly brief period—the most decisive sections of the official Party and regroup those workers who had left it. The strongest Party districts are already with us, and the work has only been started.

In Czecho-Slovakia a firm group has been formed which is preparing to issue its own journal and re-establish a Marxist center in the country. There the policies of Stalinism have born ripe—rotten ripe—fruit, because they have enabled the Right wing to gain the support of thousands of Czecho-Slovakia's best proletarian elements. The struggle will cut like a knife into thir ranks, however, and turn the current in the other direction.

In China, where the Communist Party was decimated by Chiang Kai-Shek, assisted by Stalin, Bucharin and Martinov, the Opposition has found deep roots. Under indescribably difficult conditions, our comrades have assembled a powerful kernel of revolutionists who are preparing for the inevitable, third Chinese revolution. Their writings and deeds already show a Marxist profundity and keenness that is enviable. Their contribution to our movement is and will be immense.

In the Argentine, in Mexico, in South Africa, among the Indo-Chinese militants, the Opposition is beginning to make its way, even over the obstacles of distance and the years of falsification of the Stalinists apparatus. In the United States and Canada, where the Opposition was formed only after the Sixth Congress, we already form Opposition, and a decisive element in the one of the most important sections of the life of the movement, both in the Party and in the general Left wing.

But it is impossible not to note that in Belgium and Austria, two countries where the social democracy is particularly strong, and official Communism can show nothing but mistakes, defeats and impotence, the Opposition has not made any noticeable progress in the last period. The causes for this must be reserved for another occasion. The international Opposition, however, a source of strength for every national organization, will be of immeasurable aid to these two movements especially.

Towrads an International Congress

The Paris Conference decided upon the convocation of an international Congress of the Left Opposition in the near future. The period in between will be devoted to an exhaustive preliminary discussion that will bring the confident clarity necessary for the Congress to adopt the long-needed international Platform of the Opposition. The Bulletin of the Secretariat will be largely devoted to this task, and our American group must collaborate in its solution to the maximum of it ability. Our internationalism, unlike that of the Right wing, is not of the platonic, politely friendly kind which obligates us to nothing but the use of the word, and an exchange of meaningless courteous correspondence and visits. It is, on the contrary, the very essence of our whole life and movement the mainspring of our political conceptions.

The corrupted apparatus, which has systematically undermined the foundations and the prestige of the Communist International, will shout itself hoarse with accusations about a "Fourth International". But that will only frighten infants and old women. We are reassembling the foundation stones of our International. We are cementing them with a renewed solidarity. We are defending the structure with the imposing armory of weapons inherited from Marx and Lenin. We will hold it against the rude and disloyal attacks of the usurpers whose name is Stalin. Let the bought writers, speakers and executioners of the ruling regime continue yet for a while to poison the atmosphere of the struggle. We bring a strength and light into the movement that will pierce the fog and reveal the future that belongs to us.

MAX SHACHTMAN

A Telegram to Comrade Leon Trotsky

The first international meeting of the Left Communist Opposition, held in Paris on April 6, composed of German, American, Belgian, Spanish, French, Hungarian, Italian and Czecho-Slovakian delegates, sends its warmest greetings and the mark of its closest solidarity to the Bolshevik comrades, imprisoned and deported, and to their exiled leader, L. D. Trotsky.

The Marine Workers Convention

(Continued from page 1)

al things which brings Minks to the top for their brief moment of authority.

One all-prevailing concept that was evidenced in the utterances of every Party spokesman at the convention was that the organization needed nursing and the Party bureaucrats were there to furnish it. When the question of adopting the constitution came up, every objection was answered with: "We'll take care of that in the future!" or words to that effect. When the problem of control of the national committee arose, it too was answered by the usual: "We'll leave it to the incoming committee."

The Ship Councils Idea

A word in relation to this is quite important. The question of shop councils are quite all right in a basic stable industry as a means of coordinating the work of a center with the smaller units. But in the marine industry, where crews manning a vessel are changed almost monthly, it is wrong as the only form of organization. Today a crew might man a vessel in New York; tomorrow, the same crew might be divided between all the ports from Shanghai to Marseilles. Therefore, the posibilities of coordinating or checking the work of the center with such an organization is out of the question. This creates a very "convenient" leading committee, all sufficient independent of rank and file control, and self-perpetuating if it wishes.

The next proposition was one of finance, which men from the floor pointed out was essential to a self-sustaining organization, only to have the wet nurse, Johnstone, once more tell them of the terrible difficulties, financial and otherwise, that they must face. Even to dream of a self-sustaining movement was out of the question! Once more posing the proposition of the T. U. U. L.'s rigid wardship.

The third important matter was the question of sectional organization. The T. U. U. L. representative, in order to facilitate the understanding the Daily Worker readers and the Moscow bureaucrats, proposed a form of organization that would be quite familiar to all of them: Negro section, Youth section, and...a Women's section. This last "section" was too much for some of the delegates.

The convention adjourned without having accomplished a single concrete task—and this is all the more criminal considering the opportunity given the convention directors by the excellent representation from every port of consequence. **No national commmittee was elected.** The constitution and its amendments were referred to the incoming committee which was not elected. The selection of the national committee (provisional, if you please) was turned over bag and boots to the national committee of the T. U. U. L., where the seamen delegates who thought they might suggest its composition, could never have anything to do with it. The question of a secretary so important in face of the almost universal opposition to Mink, was also left for "future consideration", which means Mink again. Along with this the question of the editorship of the Marine Workers' Voice, was also left hanging, which means Hines and what Hines stands for—or rather what he doen't stand for.

Stalinists Endanger the Movement

A splendid start was made. A good basis was at hand. But the great Party "thinkers" did their best to stifle it from the word go. The "danger" of real initiative, of authoritative leadership springing from the ranks and from the struggle, will surely be "combatted" by the Party brain batteries: the convention showed that. These people are so uncertain of their own ability to lead, founded upon intelligence and capacity, that they fear to let a single organizational thread out of their hands. It was apparent that there was more insight and ability on the floor of the convention, regarding the problems of the militant seamen and the way to solve them, than there was in the whole Party fraction.

The basis for growth and progress is still at hand. The new movement can become a real power. But the Party "specialists" must change their narrow, stifling course, which will inevitably reduce the new farine union into the horrid caricature that has ben made, for instance, of the National Miners Union. The militants in the marine industry will enter into this new movement with all the greater energy because the enormous possibilities are threatened from the start by the cheap machinations of a bureaucratic clique.

Φ

Elated because he had at last found a job after a year's unmployment, Tony Santonostos returned to his home in Staten Island to find his three children dead by gas and his wife nearly asphyxiated. She had turned on the gas after a long and futile struggle to feed her children.

In the Party

The N. Y. District Is Re-organized

It is not a matter of principle that I wish to take up here, nor is it a question of policy in the class struggle. It seems that even in the simplest matters, in the most practical question the Party "leadership" has developed blunders and incapacity to a science.

Tuesday morning, April 22, I found a letter in my mail saying: "In line with the plan and decision of the Section Committee and the District Committee, the readjustment of the Section has been finally completed." It goes on further to say what new unit I was assigned to, and that I should appear for a meeting that evening, in a new place. This is the manner in which the reorganization of one of the largest sections of th Party was "achieved". No previous discusion by the members, no explanation on the basis upon which this reorganization has taken place. Everything was decided upon and carried out by the Section and District committees. Naturally, the result was—confusion.

Out of over 30 comrades assigned to my unit, half a dozen showed up to the meeting. In one place the letter says: "A system of revolutionary competition will be immediately instituted between units in relation to the stabilization of the unit, election of proper functionaries and the concentration on shops and factories, etc." Try and stabilize when the comrades walk around like sheep that have been lost from the flock, wondering where they belong To quote once more from the same letter: "If you meet a comrade who did not receive a letter and does not know where his unit meets, take him to your unit meeting (!) and the Section representative will check up."

Eventually the lost sheep will perhaps find their flock. But this stunt was pulled exactly two weeks before May Day when every nerve of the Party is to be strained for in mobilizing the maximum number of workers, and a section of about 500 workers remains virtually disorganized and impotent to effectively work for the demonstration.

One gets the impression that there are master minds at the head of the Party constantly planning confusion and blunders —in big matters as well as small ones. If this be true, they are succeeding marvelously. —B.T.

A Little Purification

PITTSBURGH—

Charges have been brought in the Communist Party here against John Kaspar and M. Garfigel, and it is said, against John Otis as well. The charges are that they all attended the unemployment convention in New York without the authority of the Party. But that charge only conceals the real reason. The main reason is that Kaspar, as an organizer for the T. U. U. L., criticized the bureaucrats Devine and Saltzman so sharply that they could stand it no longer. Kaspar organized the campaign for the food workers, but the Party officials never assisted him. Kaspar would organize street meetings, but the bureaucrats never went out to speak. Kaspar did as best he could for the cab strikers but the Party officers would say one day that they had ideological control of the strikers and the next day: If they won't accept our program, to hell with them. All these crimes brought about the suspension of Kaspar from the Party for a certain time and with him, Garfigel.

—JAMES SIFAKIS

* * *

Note: All Party members are invited to express their viws on the Party situation in the columns of the **Militant.** Write us on the conditions in your units, etc. We want to make the **Militant** also a forum in which Party members will be able to discuss frankly and freely what is wrong with the Party and how it can be remedied—a discussion which is forbidden in the columns of the official Party press. Let the bureaucrats practise their contemptible "self-criticism" (that is, criticism only of the rank and file and whitewashes of those responsible for all the blunders.) Names of correspondents will be withheld whenever requested. For the workers in the Party, the **Militant** opens t columns freely.—Ed.

The Men's Clothing Union

In the Amalgamated: From Class Struggle to Class Collaboration

Prior to the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the United Garment Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, claimed jurisdiction over the colthing workers in the United States and Canada. Nominally, the organization is still in existence, but is no longer a factor either in industry or in the labor movement for the simple reason that it has failed to organize the clothing workers in the United States and Canada.

The Betrayal of the U. G. W.

In 1913 the clothing workers in New York decided to strike against their intolerable conditions. Over fifty thousand tailers, mostly unorganized joined ranks with the handful of radicals who initiated the movement. The strikers stood solid in spite of terrorism by the police, hired gunmen and the sabotage on the part of the national officers. The storm came when the president of the U. G. W., Tom Rickert, without the knowledge of the strikers, made a settlement which the workers and local leaders refused to accept. They claimed he "sold them out". Influential people in the labor movement intervened and a compromise settlement was reached. The workers won some of their demands and went back to work. They built up strong local unions against the wishes of the reactionary U. G. W. officialdom.

In 1914 the U. G. W. held its convention in Nashville, Tennessee. This city was chosen although it was not a clothing center and was very remote from one. The General Officers did this purposely because they knew the tailors had no money to send a full delegation. Consequently, the officers figured to control a majority in the convention and re-elect themselves into office. But the local unions did send their full delegations—and they were not seated. The delegates who were allowed to take their seats were mostly women from overall locals—"paper locals"—which the general officers had then and still have at their mercy by means of the union label.

The delegates who were barred from the convention by the general officers, and also some of the insurgents who had been seated held their own convention in another hall in the same city. They elected their general officers and a general executive board with a complete machinery for the work of the organization. Their action was quickly ratified by the rank and file, who immediately began to pay dues to the new administration in order to supply "a fighting treasury".

First Victory of the A. C. W.

Immediately upon its assuming office the new administration with Hillman as President and Schlossberg as General Secretary, was confronted by a serious industrial conflict in Baltimore. Without a treasury, without effective machinery because of lack of time to establish it, and surrounded by odds, the General Executive Board took up the fight. The success or failure of this struggle was a test case for the new organization. In spite of the fact that the organization was penniless, in spite of treachery by the deposed officers, and in spite of the fact that one branch of the industry—the cutters—betrayed the tailors and went back to work—in spite of all this the 2 500 tailors fought bitterly until they won the strike gloriously. Thus, the first struggle led by the new organization was also its first victory.

This successful struggle was a deadly blow to the old administration, the U.G.W. of A.

The new administration had passed through its first line trenches, but it still went under the name of the U.G.W. of A. The following year the courts ruled that the old reactionary leadership was entitled to the name and treasury of the old, faded U. G. W. organization. The new organization therefore called a special convention in New York in December, 1914, and changed its name to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The new organization was based upon the class struggle and militancy of a high order as the preamble of the adopted constitution vividly attests. It set forth its principles in the following revolutionary words:

> "The economic organization of labor has been called into existence by the capitalist system of production, under which the division between the ruling and the ruled class is based upon the ownership of the means of production. The class owning those means is the one that is ruling, the class that possesses nothing but its labor power is the one that is being ruled.
>
> "A constant and unceasing struggle is being waged between these two classes.
>
> "It further states—
>
> "The workers must accept the principle of industrial unionism or be doomed to impotence."

The 1914 convention was the most outstanding in the history of the clothing workers in the United States and Canada. Radicals, revolutionists of all shades of opinion united and supported the new Amalgamated union. A new spirit and idealism was brought into the organization. Every industrial center, large or small, asked for organizers and help from the new organization.

The Early Successes

With conditions favorable for organization among the clothing workers, the leaders started a campaign in every industrial center and made rapid headway. Thus we see in 1915 a big strike in New York which improved the conditions of the workers. The same year a strike of 30,000 workers was called in Chicago. This was one of the bitterest struggles waged by the new union and lasted from September 1915 to January 1916. Two workers were killed during this strike and 1 200 arrests were made. The demands of the strikers were a 48 hour week, a 25 percent wage increase, and recognition of the union. Although the strike was lost through the scabbing of the old reactionary U. G. W. with the aid of the police, yet it laid the foundation and maintained organization. As a result of this struggle the employers in Chicago signed an agreement in 1919 with the Amalgamated without a strike. This shows that strikes are a good weapon and not in vain when an organization is sincere and means business, instead of monkey business.

Here was the Amalgamated within a short period of five years—from 1914 to 1919—fighting battles, winning demands and establishing the first 44 hour week for the clothing workers. It was done not by miracles and appealing to the employers, but through struggle and sacrifices. This brought prestige and respect not only from the clothing workers, but from the employers, and even from enemies within the labor movement like the A .F. of L.

This shows again that reactionaries who say you can not organize workers through strikes do not know what they are talking about, or else they want to sit on their soft chairs comfortably and not do the job.

Because of its militancy and strength, the Amalgamated was the first union to be attacked by the open shop campaign in 1920 and 21. This lock-out involved about 60,000 workers in New York City and about 15,000 in Baltimore and Boston. It began on December 8, 1920 and ended on June 1, 1921. This lock-out was the most bitter fight of its kind ever waged by any organization in the history of the American labor movement. The employers failed to break the spirit of the workers even with the aid of the hired gangsters, and police brutality so they resorted to the courts and sued the organization for millions of dollars in damages. The A. F. of L. helped the employers in every way they could to destroy the Amalgamated but they failed.

This was the last heroic battle the Amalgamated waged, and since then Hillman and his general executive board have made peace with the employers.

* * *

Others articles on the development of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the tasks of the Left wing, will appear in forthcoming issues of the **Militant.**

In the Soviet Union

Stalin Assassinates Two More!

MOSCOW—

I forward to you the information we received from N. "A new comrade arrived from Moscow. He was arrested among the '150' (in reality another hundred should be added to this figure). Two from his group were sent to the realm of Pluto. The names of these comrades are: Rabinovich and Silov. The mood of the workers, according to him, is that of waiting. In the city of Serpuchov there were 'disturbances' in a textile factory as a result of which the workers got a raise in the price list on some items, instead of a cut. Partyites also particpated in the 'disturbances'."

It is clear that he is talking about the **shooting of two Oppositionists.** This is quite possible. At first there were expulsions from the Party, then exile follows, then jail, then the beating up in the Charkov and Ural jails then the murder of Butov through hunger, then the "accidental" murder (by beating up) of Haenrichson in Leningrad*. Why should it be impossible that they are beginning to send Oppositionists into the other world? The shakier the ground under the Centrist feet becomes the more bestial they become. Autumn flies sting painfully...

Stalin's last speech on "Dizziness from Success" is undoubtedly symptomatic. It seems to me that turning to the Right (when this turn will begin) the Centrists will attempt to throw upon our shoulders all their ultra-Left crimes, as it happened in 1928 with the extraordinary measures. After all the press is in their hands. That is why it is necessary to give a timely warning to the working class about our relation to the Centrist inanities not only abroad (there it is much easier), but here too. For that it is necessary to hurry up with a declaration to the Party and to the working class. We must by no means hesitate.

Φ

The murder of Blumkin was only a beginning. We are informed about the shooting of two more Oppositionists: the comrades Silov and Rabinovich. Evidently the idiotic invention about the participation of Oppositionists in railroad sabotage was made with the idea of explaining away the Thermidorian crimes against the Bolshevik-Leninists. But comrades Silov and Rabinovitch, had no relation whatever, not only with "sabotage", but even with railroads.

The fact that Stalin still covers up the shooting of Blumkin, proves that he has nothing to say in explanation of the committed murder. Stalin's driving forces in these new crimes, are: personal revenge, and usurpationist alarm.

The murders will not not frighten the Opposition—about that there is no need of talking—but will not even shake it from its path. We have a strict count of the crimes of the Stalinist apparatus. But the Party and the apparatus are not one and the same thing. The Party as a whole must demand an answer from the Stalinist fraction for its murderous policy. And it will find us in its ranks.

Message to Siberia

Deep in the Siberian mine,
Keep your patience proud;
The bitter toil shall not be lost,
The rebel thought unbowed.

The sister of Misfortune, Hope,
In the under-darkness dumb,
Speaks joyful courage to your heart:
The day desired will come.

And love and friendship pour to you
Across the darkened doors,
Even as round your galley-beds
My free music pours.

The heavy-hanging chains will fall,
The walls will crumble at a word;
And Freedom greet you in the light,
And brothers give you back the sword.

—PUSHKIN

Translated by
Max Eastman

*The authors of this letter in their remote corner did not yet know about the shooting of Blumkin.

IN THE RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS

The Legislative Board Game

Of the many festering sores which run through the American labor movement and keep it weak, backward ,and unable to function, the Railroad Brotherhood's Legislative Boards may be classed as one of the most destructive.

Like the rest of the unions in our craft system of organization the Railroad Brotherhoods are infested by swarms of high salaried bureaucrats, all seeking to keep their easy jobs and their big pay. The legislative boards have furnished an excellent excuse for still more office-holders to climb upon the workers' backs.

The Make-Up of the Boards

Each organization of the Conductors, Engineers, Firemen and Trainmen maintains its own State and National Legislative Boards. The State Boards are made up of one representative from each Lodge or Division (meaning local union) with a Chairman Secretary, and Executive Committee elected at stated biennial or triennial meetings as provided in the Union constitution. The National Boards are made up entirely of Grand Lodge Officials, as in the B. of L. E. or of Grand Officers and the Chairmen of the several State Boards, as is the case in the B. of L. F. & E.

Each one of the Four Brotherhoods has these boards organized in each one of the 48 states and the several Provinces of Canada. As a general rule each board maintains a lobbyist at each of the sessions of the State and Provincial Legislatures. The salaries of these lobbyists run variously from twelve to eighteen dollars per day, which accounts for the fact that these lobbyists are constantly finding more and more excuses to lay-off to perform some imaginary service.

On account of the big pay which the members of these Legislative Boards have helped themselves to, there is always present the strong temptation to prolong the Board sessions. As a general rule the members are also paid for coming and going to these meetings which is supposed to compensate them for actual time lost at their daily work and this privilege is often abused at the expense of the rank and file dues payer.

How the Racket Works

The last session of the Minnesota State Legislative Board of the B. of L. E. can be used to illustrate how the beneficiaries of this legislative board system work the game. The whole board was kept in session for three days. The executive committee held a session on the fourth day. The only actual work done was the auditing of the books and the election of officers, all of which could have been done on the first day. The auditing committee was ready to report at noon the first day. The board passed a resolution eulogizing the legislative record of Senator Shipstead and hired an expert penman for five dollars to write the resolution before presenting it to the senator. The board members charged the dues payers for going and returning from the meeting regardless of no time lost in doing so. John F. Collins, Chief of Division No. 369, who also represents that Division on the legislative board, lives at St. Paul and runs a day switch engine at that point. He had only half as far to go to attend the board meeting at St. Francis hotel as he had to the round house where he gets his engine. Still he received pay for one day coming to the meeting and one day for returning from said meeting at the rate of $16.00 per day, a total of $32.00 when as a matter of fact he was running an engine on both of those days, or should have been if he was not.

In one expense account of the Minnesota B. of L. E. Board we find the following items: "To H. S. Martin, 1 days work looking up a picture for the B. of L. E. Journal of a depot, $11.00", and again: "To H. S. Martin, 1 days work securing a picture of Magnus Johnson for B. of L. E. Journal, $11.00".

From May 14th 1924 to December 12th, 1927, three years and seven months, the B. of L. E. Legislative Board of Minnesota alone spent $12,451.87, of which $5,361.54 landed in the pockets of the Chairman and lobbyist, W. W. Royster. This sum alone spent by the Board is enough to pay the affiliation fee of the 27 B. of L. E. local unions in the state to the state Farmer-Labor Party for 31 years

In the **Firemen's Magazine** of January, 1929, there appears a financial statement by the Secretary of the B. of L.F.&E. State Legislative Board of Pennsylvania, covering the three months of the third quarter of 1928. This statement shows disbursements during the three months in question amounting to $19,106.10.

Just these few figures cited above, are enough to give the reader some ideas of the enormous sum of money spent annually by the Legislative Boards, state and national, of the four transportation Brotherhoods, and the political returns for this outlay of workers' earnings are practically nothing. To illustrate the complete uselessness of the Legislative Boards and their lobby, we cite below a literal quotation taken from page 6 of the Biennial Report of the Railroad Brotherhoods' State Legislative Board of Minnesota, which shows what happened to their legislative program at the 1929 Minnesota Legislature. Note carefully:

"Legislative Program"

"The following legislation was sponsored by your representatives:

Cearance Bill .....Indefinitely Postponed
Terminal Bill .....Died on General Orders
Consolidated Primary Ballot Bill .....Indefinitely Postponed
Pilot on Light EnginesIndefinitely Postponed
Minimum Passenger Crew Bill .....Died in Committee
Train Limit Bill, O.R C., B. of R.T. and B. of L. F.&E. .....Died in Committee
Walks on Bridges ..Died in Committee
Switch Lights on all Main Lines .....Died in Committee
R. R. and Warehouse Commission Bill empowering it to deal with various operating conditions on railroads .....Died on General Orders".

The above program cost the four transportation Brotherhoods in the State of Minnesota approximately $10,000 for the one year, 1929. Nearly all of this sum landed in the pockets of the four lobbyists who spent a pleasant winter in St. Paul.

About all these Legislative Boards amount to, is, that they furnish excuses for more office holders to collect dues from the railroad workers for their personal benefit and enjoyment. In addition to being extremely expensive these Boards are an actual obstacle to progress and independent labor political action.

The useless and expensive Legislative Boards and Lobby are part of the rubbish which will have to be removed to clear the path for labor's political party. This task has already been started by the progressive wing of the Engineers and Firemen in the State of Minnesota with the slogan, "A Labor Party instead of a Labor Lobby".

—C. R. HEDLUND

Φ

Other readers of the **Daily Worker** will feel with us, we are sure, when we say it pains us to announce that Earl Browder has been made editor of that journal. Relatives and friends of the family are invited. Omit flowers.

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Shall Three More Workers Burn?

Three militant workers are facing the electric chair. They are M. H. Powers, Communist Party organizer, Joe Carr Young Communist League organizer, of Atlanta, Ga., and Leonard S. Doherty, marine worker, now living in Boston. As a result of their working class activity among the textile workers of the South and the needle trades workers of Boston, these three men will burn unless the labor movement is mobilized in their support. The International Labor Defense is conducting their defense, but to the present, its participants are almost exclusively Communists and their closest sympathizers. Even the Communist press is giving it a minimum of publicity, apparently not realizing the serious charges abainst the three men.

Electric Chair for Leaflets

Powers and Carr were arrested after they had spoken at mass meetings attended by Negro and White workers and had distributed leaflets issued by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. They are charged with leading an insurrection against the state of Georgia! According to the laws of that state conviction can result in their being sentenced to the electric chair.

When the case came up for a hearing on Monday, April 21, Assistant Solicitor General John Hudson who is leading the prosecution, stated that the state would ask for the death penalty. At that time the bail of the two workers was withdrawn by the state. They are now in prison awaiting trial, scheduled to begin May 6. One of the reasons given by the assistant attorney-general for demanding the maximum sentence for the two workers is that if released they would participate in a May Day demonstration.

Leonard S. Doherty, was arrested several months ago in Boston when he was marching on the picket line during the strike of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. At that time the Canadian authorities stated that he was wanted for a murder committed there in 1925. This is an obvious frame-up, for Doherty was not in Canada during that year.

Information was received on April 24, that a federal warrant to deport Doherty to Canada is in the hands of an officer of the superior court of Boston. However, the day previous, Doherty was given a two months sentence in the Superior Court in a charge of beating up a scab during the needle trades workers strike. Therefore the warrant will not be served until after he has served his 60 day sentence. If deported to Canada, Doherty will be tried for murder, which with conviction, will mean the electric chair.

Facts of the Case Suppressed

At the present time, the facts concerning these two frame-up cass are practically unknown outside of the limits of the territory with which they are concerned. In the Carr and Powers case, several Southern newspapers print the details. In the Doherty case, only part of the New England press publishes the news of the case. In addition, of course, the Party periodicals with their limited circulation from time to time publish inadequate accounts, but apparently have not taken either case very seriously.

Is it part of th "third period" point of view to allow militant workers to go to the electric chair without putting up a serious fight? Most criminal of all, is the lack of any attempt to organize a united front movement in their behalf. Although the Gastonia defense was sectarian the dramatic incidents connected with the police raid on the tent colony, resulted in a large amount of publicity in the capitalist press and the mobilizing of certain sections of the liberals and the labor movement for their support. In the present cases ,these factors are lacking and unless the Communist Party wakes up, it will have three corpses to bury. These are not the kind of heroes we want, which would be used to show the growing of class conflicts in America to the Stalinist regime in Moscow. Powers, Carr and Doherty must be saved! Let the International Labor Defense make the campaign for their defense a broad united front movement in which all sections of the labor movement can participate. Its refusal will mean that the Engdahls and the other Stalinist generals of the Red I. L. D. are more concerned with the prosecution of their idiotic formulae than with the proletarian defense of three militants.

The memory of Sacco and Vanzetti is yet too green to allow the American workers to remain with folded arms while the capitalist savages polish off their chairs to receive three more workers in their deadly embrace. —FRANK BROMLEY

A «Broad» May Day Conference

Another of those farcical conferences, euphemistically designated as "United Front" out of respect to traditions of former days, was held by the official Communist Party in preparation for May Day on Thursday night, April 24th at Manhattan Lyceum. There were 985 delegates present who, it was claimed, represented many working class organizations and shops. But a subsequent examination of the list of organizations, which were announced to participate in the May Day parade, reveals only the Party auxiliary organizations and the new unions, both of which have long lost whatever mass character they once had, due to the false policies of the Party. Most of the delegates, it could easily be seen were Party members. The admission of the political bureau of the central committee two days later, that "the United Front conferences were not sufficiently broad" testifies clearly to the narrow character of the May Day Conference.

Oppositionist Ejected

The delegate of the New York branch Communist League of America (Opposition) comrade Russell Blackwell, who had been sent with the idea that perhaps on May Day at least, the divided forces of the Communists might be united in demonstration against capitalism was forcibly ejected the moment he made his appearance at the door. Jack Perrilla, guradian of the Party line and formidable Trotsky killer, was commander in chief with the proper orders and slogans, and directed the strategical operations of the anti-Trotsky defense force from behind the lines—far behind, in fact.

The proceedings of the conference were another demonstration of the current Party methods which kill all initiative, stifle honest discussion, and destroy Communist influence. The Party controversies immediately made their appearance when a Lovestone follower, delegate from a shop, asked for the floor in the discussion, and was denounced for his Party opinions and not permittd to discuss. Later, perhaps to relieve the conscience of the Party, the credentials committee announced that it had been discovered that he represented no one and was accordingly unseated as a delegate. All the talking was monopolized by the Party bureaucrats, even when at last discussion was opened, only three delegates from the floor were allowed to speak, and right away again commenced a torrent of bombast from such staunch protectors of the latest Stalin line as Wagenknecht, Engdahl and Salzer. Eventually, when the delegates had become fatigued from the steady dripping downpour of oratorial tripe, and were hurrying out of the hall, the chairman Darcy thought it an opportune time to adjourn the meeting.

Φ

Unemployed workers who wonder where their next soupbone is coming from can read nevertheless for the price of a daily newspaper about Mr. J .P. Morgan's $2,500,000 private yacht. This is the most palatial yacht ever built. It possesses the dimensions of an ocean liner 343 feet long and 48 feet beam. The Corsair is expected to develop 16 knots. Teak imported from the Orient is used throughout the ship except in the crew's quarters. It is reported that Mr. Morgan will not work in the stoke hole.

From Hillquit to Lovestone

Pointed Parallel between Two Generations of National Socialism

The heaviest blows we have dealt the Right wing have been our attacks upon its fundamental position: national socialism, the theory from which most of its current anti-Communist conceptions are drawn. It has not been difficult to point out that the banner under which the united forces of Stalin and Bucharin led the reactionary crusade against the Left Opposition ("Trotskyites")—the banner of socialism in one country—inevitably led to the splitting of this united bloc and the departure of its Right flank from the ranks of Communism. Giving Lovestone, Brandler, Jilek and Co. their due, we have pointed out also that it is they and not the Stalinists who are correct, **insofar as it is a matter between the two of them,** in the question of "exceptionalism". That is, Lovestone contends that if Stalin may erect an "exceptionalist' theory for Russia ("we will complete a socialist society by ourselves"), then Lovestone is permitted to erect an "exceptionalist" theory for America. From the point of view of the theory of socialism in one country Lovestone and not Stalin is correct; but from the point of view of elementary Marxism, of revolutionary internationalism, they are both wrong.

The Impotence of Centrism

The reason why the official Party (the Stalinists) arguments against Lovestone have always limped and halted is that they have been unable to show the workers who went with the Right wing what was fundamentally wrong with the latter: to do that would have meant the exposure of the anti-Marxist roots of Centrism itself! The Centrists have thus enabled the Right wingers to shift the whole content of this historical struggle on to the secondary and tertiary questions, where in many instances the Right wing adopts a position which, in appearance, is more correct than the fabulous idiocies of the Party chieftains. Only by re-establishing the basis of the dispute upon the questions of principle, and proceeding from these questions to those that flow from them, can the bankruptcy of the international Right wing be demonstrated. But such a fight leaves the Centrist helpless, for he is only a person who has not developed to the logical conclusions of the Right winger; his only weapon, therefore, is organizational manipulation and terror. The burden of the fight against the Right wing continues to rest upon the Left Opposition.

It is when the Right wing attempts to answer our unanswerable argumentation that it shows how well the Left wing has acquitted itself in this struggle. It flounders, it evades, it swindles ,it is demagogic, and above all, in its profound hatred for the genuine Left it exposes its own petty bourgeois philistine character. As good an example as any is furnished by the **Revolutionary Age** and its latest article, "Whither Trotskyism?" by Will Herbrg (No. 12). We will pass over the amusing fact that this same question was answered by the same Herberg only a few months ago when he "proved" that we had quite thoroughy "disintegrated" and that there should therefore be no reason to waste space in flaying a dead dog. We will rather take up the washed trivialities that pass for Marxism in the Right wing camp and properly identify them as a political tendency.

According to Herberg, "Eager sectarianism is the very essence of Trotskyism ...Trotsky himself welcomes the sectarianism that is the essence of his system. 'To be a"sectarian" today,' he declares, is an honor for every real revolutionary!'" This would be a somewhat "damaging" quotation if not for three facts which are as well known to Herberg as they are to us.

1. The sentence is taken from its context, and refers not to a political party (the Communist Party), but to a faction within that Party.

2. The word sectarian is put within quotation marks, as a scornful comment upon the term by which we are designated by the Right wing groups which, as everyone surely knows, are mass organizations embracing millions of workers. ...

3. The sentence quoted by Herberg from Trotsky read in the **original** (see the **Militant,** October 1, 1929): "To be at present a 'sectarian' of revolutionary Marxism **in the eyes of philistines, of snivellers, of shallow minds,** is the greatest honor for a real revolutionary." One need not have gone through a college coure in psychology to perceive why Herberg so diligently omitted quoting the whole sentence. He knows but too well, our friend Herberg, who is meant by Trotsky when he says "philistines, snivellers and shallow minds." Literary forgeries of this type are considered good form in the Right wing camp, where for years charlatanry bluff and swindle were the principal weapons in the campaign against "Trotskyism". Naive people that we are, we still think these methods contemptible, no matter what "period" they are practiced in.

The Real Sectarians

But since we are speaking of sectarianism, let us establish again who practices it: It is the Right wing in every country, for they have cut themselves off from the international revolutionary movement and turned their backs upon the Russian revolution. By these steps they have doomed themselves to the life of **national sects.** They are following in the footsteps, not of the Hillquits and Oneals of today who are open Right wing socialists, but of the Hillquits and Oneals of yesterday who still employed "revolutionary" phrases about Russia and internationalism, and even the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to retain the Left wing workers in the Socialist Party.

Here are four documents: Herberg's article. A statement "On the Situation in the C. P. S. U. (**Revolutionary Age,** Number 11). From Marx to Lenin by Morris Hillquit (1921). A debate between James Oneal and Robert Minor (1921). Space unfortunately prevents us from making comparisons at length but sufficient parallels can be drawn between the Hillquits and Oneals of yesterday and the Lovestones of today to show how close is the ideological rapproachment. And, unlike Herberg, we will quote literally. Emphasis everywhere is our own, done to indicate significant similarities between the old and the...new.

"First I want to say that I am unreservedly in support of the revolutionary government established by the workers and peasants of Russia, and that I believe that those who call themselves Socialists and don't give that support, who in any way approve of the intervention on the part of the international imperialists, automatically takes himself out of the socialist classification, and no one has spoken more frequently than I have in behalf of the Russian workers and peasants to work out ther own problems and to establish their own regime without interference on the part of anyone throughout the world...I want to say however that support of a social revolution in Russia, or in the Argentine, or in China or Japan, or anywhere else in the world, **does not necessarily carry with it the support of a particular international organization,** of which the Russian workers and Communists are merely only one section. I want to make that distinction clear." (Oneal).

"The Soviet workers do not want war. Thy want peace in order to be able to carry through the gigantic plans of Socialist construction...We American workers and the workers of the whole world, must close our ranks and stand by the U .S. S. R. and defend it against the blows of world imperialism!...But (Oneal's "but"!) precisely because of this gap the crisis is not manifested in the same form in the C. P. S. U. as in the capitalist countries: neither the political issues nor the fractional groupings are the same, in **no sense is the international opposition** (i. e., Right opposition) **movement based upon the issues or groupings in the C.P.S.U.** nor does it find its counterpart in any of these groupings." (Lovestone).

"Now, what is the character of the so-called Communist movement in the United States? **It is solely and almost exclusively a movement that lives by reflection from Russia.**" (Oneal).

"An international tendency of Communism that makes its basis of concentration not the general living issues of international(and national) class struggle but issues —many of them outlived—of differences in the Soviet Party is condemned to ultimate sectarianism. This is just what Trotskyism does. The concentration of Trotskyist forces on a world scale **takes place primarily on the issues of Soviet policy in which Trotsky differed sharply with the leadership of the C. P. S. U."** (Herberg)

A Couple of Exceptionalists

"I don't believe that an international organization of the working class calling itself socialist, claiming to represent the best of Marxian thought, **can direct the policies and methods of the workers in all countries of the world, regardless of the particular historical conditions that prevail in each and everyone of these countries.** The development of human institutions and thought is by no means a uniform thing." (Oneal the exceptionalist!)

"Trotsky, like Stalin, proceeds along the line of mobilization of the international movement for the program of a fraction of the C.P.S.U.—this is his 'internationalism'! **Trotsky, like Stalin, cares not a whit about the specific conditions in the various countries and brands as 'opportunism' the attempt to apply and adapt the general line to these conditions"** (Herberg).

"All Socialists who fail to subscribe to **every article of the neo-Communist creed** are branded as 'traitors' and 'agents of the capitalist class' and parties desiring to affiliate with the Communist International **are warned of the necessity of a 'complete and absolute rupture with reformism.** and the policy of the "centrists" ' and of advocating such a rupture 'among the widest circles of the Party membership." (Hillquit).

"These question form a **closed system of dogma** without any regard to their actuality or to their present relation to the vital questions of the revolutionary movement...Trotsky, like Stalin, issues his Open Letters to serve as a basis for the **separation of the sheep from the goats,** the 'loyalites' from the 'renegades'." (Herberg). "We are not phrase-mongers nor obedient rubber-stamps." (Lovestone).

A startling and significant similarity! Both sets of quotations exude the same overpowering odor of national fever and contempt of anything but the most harmless and least obligatory internationalism. Both of them wallow in their provincial independence. In 1921, Hillquit and Oneal were proud of the fact that they were not a tail of any "faction" of the Russian Socialists (Mensheviks or Bolheviks); in actuality ,as everyone knows, they were for the Mensheviks who represented the class interests of the counter-revolution. In 1930 Lvestone and Brandler are equally proud not to be the "tail" to any "faction" of the Russian "Communists"; in actuality, to the extent that the Russian revolution interests them, they share the political viewpoint of the Right wing (Bucharin) which reprsents the class interests of the Thermidorian counter-revolution.

More than 12 years after the Bolshevik uprising, Lovestone dares to express his **official, formal** viewpoint of Russia thus: "On the various questions at issue—question of tempo or methods—we cannot, as a group, express a definitive opinion because we have not the material upon which such an opinion can be based"! Under cover of "refusing to be a tail to a Russian fraction" and a pretended ignorance of what is going on in Russia (twelve years after the October!) Lovestone has turned his back on the Russian revolution.

Nationalism and Internationalism

Hillquit and Oneal tried to separate the estimate of the class forces in the Russian revolution from an estimate of the world revolutionary situation and from the tactics and strategy to be pursued by the socialist movement—not only internationally, **but also nationally.** Lovestone does the same thing, and that is where the analogy fits.

The Left Opposition is "not a tail" to a "Russian faction"; it is an advocate of the revolutionary principles which formed the foundation of the Russian revolution and are now embodied in the Russian Bolshevik Opposition. Lovetone separates the "Russian question" and the theory of "socialism in one country" from the estimate of the world situation and the course the American Marxists mut follow in the United States. For us, all these questions are inextricably combined. Trotsky proceeds from an estimate of international economy and politics to an estimate of the national (Russian, let us say) situation. Stalin does precisely the opposite. We outline our course in the United States on the basis of its place in the world revolutionary movement. Lovestone starts the other way around. We remain revolutionary internationalists. The Right wing is slipping back to a sort of Left wing Hillquitism of the 1921 style. —MARSH

Ross Arrested in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS—Joe Ross, member of the local branch of the Communist League and active in the Laundry Driver's union was arrested here and fined for disorderly conduct by the court for the crime of distributing leaflets issued by the League on unemployment. The leaflets were being distributed in front of the City Auditorium at a huge unemployment meeting called by the local trade union leaders and attended by some 14,000 workers. The fact that they had no program of fight to offer the assembled workers ,and that the League leaflet proposed such a program and urged its adoption at the meeting, did not suit the labor bureaucrats. One of them Robert Cramer, erstwhile "progressive", had the cops chase the workers who were distributing the circulars and arrest Ross. Nevertheless, more than 7,000 leaflets were handed out.

The Minneapolis League has called a May Day meeting for Wednesday, April 30, but we go to press too early for a report. The leaflet also urged the workers to join in the May Day demonstration at Bridge Square the next day.

Billings' Release «Postponed»

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—The same legal point that formed the Lowell committee's excuse for confirming the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti may condemn Warren Billings to perpetual imprisonment. Chief Justice Waste of the California supreme court has announced that the investigation of Billings appeal for pardon is being held up because the court is able only to study th court records of the case and has no power to subpoena witnesses who have knowledge of the frame-up.

"The petition for pardon," says Justice Waste, "is based largely on affidavits obtained since Billing's conviction and repudiating the testimony of a number of prosecution witnesses. There is no machinery provided for investigating angles of a case that happen subsequent to conviction." This is the same ground on which Mooney was refused a new trial when Trial Judge Griffin requested it. Waste also pointed out that the petition is simply before the individual members, who have no executive or judicial power. Even so, he believes it will be "some time" before any decision is reached.

Φ

HUNTINGDON, Pa.—"On the surface it might seem that the Soviet is within its rights in setting up an anti-religious government," says Bishop H. S. Longley, Episcopal, of Iowa, in a widely published syndicated statement. "But it is impossible," he continues, "to have in existence a government of this sort without its effect being felt in Christian nations throughout the world. I certainly believe that a diplomatic protest should be mad by the nations of the world even though it lead to bloody conflict."

Trotsky's Autobiography Free!

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The Real Situation in Russia

This book is also available free of charge to all workers. Here you will find the nly Englisn translation of the famous Platform of the Russian Opposition, suppressed by Stalin, and Trotsky's letter exposing the falsifications of the History of the Russian revolution and the Communist Partv. You will also find hera the important Testament of Lenin. It is a $2.00 book but you can get it free from the Militant by turning in 5 yearly subscriptions (at $2.00 each) or 10 six-month subs (at $1.00 each). Rnewals are accepted.

Do you want to get a copy, free of charge, of "My Life" by Leon Trotsky? Do you want to get the book which is arousing such enormous interest in the revolutionary movement in Europe and America? Many worker anxious to have it are unemployed. They can get it in spite of that. The Militant is offering a copy free to any worker who turns into its office TEN yearly subscriptions or TWENTY six-month subcriptions to the paper. Approach your friends and fellow workers. The sub for a year is $2.00; for six months it is $1.00. Collect the subs and the money, forward the mto the office, and get your copy of the Autobiography, which has been called Trotsky's greatest work, absolutely free of charge. This $5.00 book is yours for the little effort required to get the subs—or renewals.

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Since Lenin Died

This book by Max Eastman was the first work in the English language to tell the truth about the struggle in the Russian Communist Party between the Opposition led by Trotsky, on the one hand, and Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bucharin, Stalin on the other. You will have an excellently drawn picture of the beginings of this fight after reading this book. The Militant has succeeded in getting the last few dozen copies of this book, of which no other edition exists. It has been sent to us from England, the American edition being exhausted. It sells for $1.00, but you can get it free of charge by turning in 3 yearly subs (at $2.00 each) or 6 six-month subs (at $1.00 each).

Send All Subscriptions and Funds to The Militant, 25 Third Ave., New York City

: - : UNDER THE LASH OF UNEMPLOYMENT : - :

The Crime of Being Jobless

DETROIT—There is one less jobless worker in line at the Ford Rouge plant now. A well-fed brute in the uniform of a policeman killed him as he stood in line among 12,000 others in vain search for a job. Not a word of it has been whispered in the press. What's one worker more or less?

Eyewitnesses described the slaying as follows: "Armed cops were walking up and down the line," they said. Where they couldn't find trouble they tried to start it. They displayed their guns and clubs arrogantly and abused the jobless without provocation.

Clubbed to Death

"It so happened that this one fellow was slightly out of line, although he had been there since 5 the night before. He was tired, hungry, and cold. The cop got nasty with him and tried to pull him out of line. The worker refused to get out of line. He said he'd been there for many nights and he wasn't going to get out just because a cop told him to. The policeman raised his club and brought it down with smashing force behind the man's ear. The man fell like a log. He didn't make a move. The cop looked surprised and called for a wagon. They carted the dead man on and drove off while cops began busting up the line."

Workers are returning from the Rouge battered and bruised with stories rivalling those from the company towns of Pennsylvania. Men have been making fire with waste paper to keep themselves warm, for example. The cops have been assiduously and brutally breaking up even these small gatherings of men. Workers congregated inside the fence around the employment office have been driven out daily by hundreds of sleek cops armed with guns and clubs. Even workers who have stood for 12 hours or more are being shown no mercy now. "Smash the unemployed" is the order of the day.

Φ

LABOR CAMP JOBS 1-10TH OF FORMER YEARS

NEW YORK—The shipment of men to labor camps this spring is 1-10th of what was in former years, the Salvation Army reports. The supply of odd jobs is almost nil in and around New York.

1,000 men waited two hours in the rain for free Army tickets good for 5 cent or ten cent meals in Bowery rstaurants. "For the first time we have allowed men to sleep in chairs or on the floor in our reading room," says Lieut. Col. W. Winsell. "450 have slept this way on the average. Hundreds are walking the streets."

The Census Taker Reports

NEW YORK—

An inkling of how devastating the extent of unemployment has become in proletarian sections of New York City was given me the other day by the enumerator sent to chalk me up for the Wall Street census. This nose-checker revealed, under questioning that in the single 17th Street block between Avenue "A" and First Avenue, a typical East Side tenement street, the wage-earners of 150 families out of the 230 canvassed are jobless. If what the mincing capitalist rags call "idleness" obtains on the same appalling scale throughout the East Side, and the chances are that it does, then more than 55 percent of the workers in this slum area are now gorging themselves on Hoover "prosperity".

It is a foregone conclusion that the capitalist government will take mighty good care to hide its findings on the unemployment situation, though the number of radio-owners abroad in the land will undoubtedly be made public the day the count is completed, as one more irrefutable proof to the world-at-large of the American "peepuls" luxurious standard of living. But perfume the crisis as they may, the shekel-swine cannot pollyanna an empty stomach a damn's worth; the jobless army exists, no matter how often the prostitute press whoops it down in print. Furthermore, it is a gathering torrent thundering more and more ominously about the dikes of moneybags as the need of relief becomes daily more urgent.

It is the job of the Communist vanguard to direct this torrent of discontent overcome its diffusion and turn it, with the employed masses which likewise are being whipped up by the winds of crisis, into one powerful stream. But the apostolic Stalin leadership, secure from reality in its high ivory dome, sweeping the scene through the trick binoculars of the "third perod", sees this gathering torrent already as a raging flood washing out the very foundations of American capitalsim. And the tragic part of it is that the self-deluded Centrists are formulating tactics accordingly, tactics calculated, not to harness the power of the jobless and employed masses, but to render it more diffuse. The chief slogan raised on May Day for instance, was the "mass political strike", with its connotations of a swiftly appproaching revolutionary situation. At a time which calls for a united front of all Left wing forces to guide and lead the fight for work or compensation, unemployment insurance, the 7-hour day and the five day week, etc., the C.P.U.S.A. persists bull-headedly in its narrow sectarian policies, going so far as to unseat delegates from opposition Communist groups at its "united front" unemployment conferences.

The last unemployment conferences in New York, truly "national" in scope, was an afterclap to March 6 such as would have awakened a dead and buried Marxist to the true state of affairs as regards the Party's "leadership" of the jobless. The American Stalinists, however, wandering boozily in the gases generated by the Daily Worker, stick to their ivory tower and chart another "victory". Where were the 110,000 unemployed New York workers whom the Party claimed to have rallied to its leadership when this conference opened? Among the handful of "unemployed" present, called to prepare for the "huge" July 4 meeting in Chicago, it required the most diligent kind of sleuthing to discover one face which had not been a landmark in Union Square for years.

A kind of wry humor was afforded us by the spectacle of the demon-theoretician of the "third priod" Earl Browder, coming out in the Daily Worker (4-19-30), against ultra-Leftism and roundly scolding an overzealous rank and filer who had brought forward the slogan of "capture the city hall" at a Party conference, possibly the same unemployment meet. Well, and why not "capture the city hall"? Is this not the "third period"? And if this period is so close to the revolutionary situation that it is permissable for Browder and Company to call for a "mass political strike" on May Day, and to organize Workers Defense Corps for battle against Whalen's cossacks, and if the foundations of Wall Street are already giving way, what is so politically damnable in the over-zealous comrades slogan? Who shall say that what is sauce for Browder is not also sauce for the rank and file, misguided by Browder? And by the way, Browder belaboring ultra-Leftist adventurism somehow or other recalls the equally delectable show given by Lovestone when he was furiously lambasting the "right danger" between venomous attacks on the "Trotskyists".

No, unless the workers themselves drag Browder and his ilk down to earth and force the Party to adopt a coldly realistic policy, which can only be determined with a correct political line, the jobless army will remain helplessly unorganized and will spend its force to no purpose, the bureaucrats stupidly allowing its potentialities to trickle away into futility, to the irreparable damage of the labor movement in this country.

—X. WILKES

He Starved Amid Plenty

PITTSBURGH—There is a halt in traffic along one of Pittsburgh's main streets. The curious collect, a morgue ambulance arrives, and a policeman hauls from a miserable hole in a concrete wall one of the late unemployed.

Unmistakable signs show he was jobless. His clothing was obviouly of the donated kind. He was shoeless. His hair was white—perhaps he died for the crime of passing the age deadline. His frame, once powerful was shrunken.

The Crime of Joblessness

Since he made his home on a busy street, they can't call him a "recluse" as they do other jobless who find quiet places to die, far from the busy profit-making that will have none of them.

Three steel workers were classed as "recluses". Past the deadline, they subsisted in a riverbank shanty, living on what they could comb from the water. One of them died, and the other two sought the poorhouse.

Another feature story was "Ramblers' Row" a collection of pieced together shanties along a railroad track. The human interest included a picture of Stanislaw, the bearded patriarch of the colonly of misery. Stanislaw, 60, was frozen to death the morning Andy Mellon reached his 75th birthday. Spring has come and "Ramblers' Row" is breaking up.

Pittsburgh's one breadline has closed its doors. The Pittsburgh Federation of Social Agencies branded it "unnecessary, unwise and demoralizing to the community".

"We are feeding every day an average of 2,000 men," said the line's directors. "We know they are hungry. One man has fainted from lack of food. Since the soup kitchen has been operating, panhandling on downtwon streets has diminished. We absolutely know from careful statistics that 7 out of 10 are honest, hardworking men. There are in the neighborhood of 3,000 unemployed homeless men in the city."

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MASTER PLUMBER'S OFFENSIVE

PLAINFIELD, N. J.—Master plumbers of this city have incorporated themselves as "Master Plumbers, Assn., Inc." Their purpose is for the "protection of trade and social purposes". What it really means is the boss plumbers will soon come out for the open shop. Several shops have started and installed scabs on jobs. May 1 is the time set for the journeymen plumbers to ask for an increase of $1.20 per day. It is expected that the battle for open or closed shop will start then.